2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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in their spare time, and chiefly in the dry season when there is no farm work. They are exceedingly few in numbers—one or two in a settlement —and their work is of mediocre quality. The only blacksmiths in Taleland are about a dozen men of the Sakpee clan of T'enzugu, and only one of them derives a substantial part of his livelihood from his craft. A leather-worker or two, a potteress, a sewer of caps, may be found in almost every settlement. Some men and women who are more skilful than their neighbours at making articles of common use such as hen-coops, baskets, bows, adze-shafts, &c., are in the habit of making a few for sale every dry season. The only specialized occupation is that of the diviner, and it, also, is a part-time occupation in addition to farming, though a popular diviner, making perhaps a shilling or eighteen pence a day, may farm less land than he normally would. Diviners are numerous. There may be as many as ten or twenty in a large settlement, but only one or two of them will earn more than a few pence a day by divining.

British Rule and Contact with Western Civilization

Until the time of my first visit to Taleland the natives had been very little influenced by the agencies of British government and of European civilization that are active in these parts. The main roads skirt Taleland so that the flow of north- and south-bound traffic by-passes the largest part of the area. Nevertheless, these roads have served to open up Taleland to a wider sphere of intercourse with other parts of the Gold Coast than was possible twenty years before. Political and social conditions made it impossible for people to travel freely beyond a radius of a few miles from their own settlements in former days. To-day young men and even women go in increasing numbers every year, in the dry season, to Tamale, Kumasi, or the coast towns. Some go to visit friends or relatives, some carry fowls for sale, others go as seasonal labourers, and others go to work abroad for a term of years. In 1923 the Administration of the Northern Territories reluctantly agreed to assist in the recruitment of labour for the mines and cocoa farms of Ashanti and the colony. The experiment failed and was soon abandoned. Nowadays labour migration from the Northern Territories is entirely voluntary. It has become linked up with the normal economic life of the natives. Whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer. The cessation of agricultural activity in the dry season makes it easy for a young man to get away for a few months without loss to the routine of farming.

Economic incentives, which the natives sum up as 'the desire for money', therefore lie behind much labour migration in the Northern Territories. And the value of money may be gauged from the fact that a hen could be bought for 6*d*. to 1*s*., a cow in good condition for £2. 10*s*., and a dish of porridge enough for a satisfying meal for 1/10 of a penny in any market in 1934–7. But there are other incentives as well. Curiosity, and the desire to see the places and experience the life which those who return from a stay abroad describe to their fellows at home, stimulate many a youth to go south for a short or long period. And friction with

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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relatives may impel a young man to run away to 'Kumasi', the symbol for everything south of the Black Volta.

Thus one finds that about one man in three has at some time or other in the past two decades visited these, to the Tallensi, still foreign parts. In the settlements near the main roads the dry-season migration of young men may, according to rough estimates made in 1936–7, reach over 10 per cent. of the adult male population. Administrative officers estimate that in 1938–9 about 7 per cent. of the adult male population of Taleland were working abroad with the apparent intention of staying away for a lengthy period. These men bring back small sums of money, ranging from a few shillings to four or five pounds, as well as clothes and other miscellaneous trade goods. Money and clothes[1] are eagerly desired by the Tallensi. These are the most important new wants that have grown up recently as a result of culture contact. Foreign utensils, implements, or tools have hardly entered the productive system of the natives. The foreign ideas and exotic information brought back by the young men arouse curiosity but have made no appreciable impression on the native scheme of values and beliefs, or on their practical knowledge. Labour migrants remain strongly attached to their families and natal settlements, and it is always assumed that they will eventually return. Hitherto, among the Tallensi, very few have been lost to their natal communities; and when they do return, they resume the traditional way of life. Though they are one of the influences modifying the strict letter of custom in minor respects, they are not a disintegrating ferment

[1] Tallensi maintain that there has been a tremendous increase in the amount of clothes worn since the white man opened up the country, and especially since the last war. They point out that nowadays every small boy has a loin-cloth for festive occasions, whereas even twenty years ago a youth only obtained one when he began courting, at the age of 18 or 19. In those days the ordinary man rarely had a cloth or tunic. His only garb was an animal skin. Nowadays every man has at least one cloth to cover himself at night and to wear during the day when he is not working, and many have two or three garments—a cloth and a tunic, for instance—while well-to-do men have considerable wardrobes. All cotton goods are imported. The Mossi cloth used in former days is still a favourite, especially for loin-cloths and caps, and tunics for special wear. The bulk of it is still imported from French territory, but there are some Mossi weavers at Bolɔga and Zuarungu who add to the supply. However, quite half if not more of the cotton goods worn by Tallensi is of European origin and the demand is increasing. I once listed all the clothes worn by a number of men and women from one of the most prosperous communities of Taleland as they passed my rest house on the way to the market. The figures are instructive as an indication both of the standard of living of the Tallensi and of the degree to which acculturation in this sphere has progressed. The sample consisted of 62 men and 64 women. Of the men, 35 (56 per cent.) wore cover-cloths of European cotton print; 18 (29 per cent.) wore Mossi cloths; 9 (15 per cent.) wore skins; 8 (13 per cent.) wore khaki shorts, several of them on top of native loin-cloths; the remainder wore native loin-cloths; 19 (30 per cent.) wore some form of European head-gear; 30 (48 per cent.) wore native-made caps. Thus 85 per cent. of these men were clothed, but none of them wholly. Of the women 12 (15 per cent.) wore a piece of cotton print and one wore a Mossi cloth—a very large incidence such as would not be found in most other Tale communities. The rest were nude, except for the perineal band and back-flap. As people dress up specially for market day, these figures are not indicative of everyday habits. The greater conservatism of women suggested by these figures is due in great part to their lack of opportunities for obtaining cash incomes for personal use.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
and weeding, planting guinea-corn and late millet on bush farms, rice, ground-nuts and minor crops. Hiring labour for help in hoeing and weeding.[2] Women plucking *nangena*.	Much live stock sold or bartered for grain very cheaply; grain scarce and dear. Much ground-nuts for sale.[1] Small groups of children wander about hungry, feeding on wild fruits and small animals they find near the settlements. Towards the end of the month many people are staunching their hunger by cutting the ripe or half ripe heads of early millet which they roast on the embers and nibble at.
JULY: Early millet harvested by those who planted first on valley land.[3]	Early millet eaten by those who harvest. Relatives from the later-

[1] People tend to hoard their ground-nuts until about June, when the price rises to 1*s.* a small basketful, as many require seed then. The proceeds are invested in grain. Grain prices at this time are about twice the average price of roughly ½*d.* a lb.

[2] In June even those whose grain supplies have lasted well begin to feel the pinch. One reason for this is that a considerable amount of grain is expended in feeding and recompensing hired *kpaarip* (lit. hoe-men). These are Nankansi and Builsa who come to Tale-land to seek a few days' work, since their settlements are in a worse plight than those of the Tale. They insist on being paid in grain or ground-nuts which they can take home. As they have to be given flour-water (*ɔɔnkuum*) in the middle of the day and a good meal at night besides a calabash of 4 or 5 lb. of grain per day to carry home, they make considerable inroads on grain supplies. At this time of the year only those with grain to spare engage *kpaarip*, later even poorer men do so. It may mean economizing on one's own food at the time, but in this way, say the Tale farmers, one can get a large bush farm hoed or weeded expeditiously, and thus make up the grain expended twice over.

[3] Early millet is a catch-crop and the Tallensi realize this. Its function is to tide over the period of waiting until the main crops of guinea-corn and late millet are harvested. Hence the necessity for a piece of compound farm if a unit is to be fully independent.

The Tallensi say that early millet normally lasts for two months, and our observations prove this to be the case. When the millet is brought in by the women, the heads are spread out to dry and sorted into two lots, the good heads (*naarsɔmr*) and the bad heads (*naarbiet*). The best of the former are selected for seed, threshed and stored in pots. This is the first task, as it is considered shameful to be without seed at planting time. The bad heads are eaten first, the good millet stored in the granary and eaten later. For a few days there is no restraint. Small children run about all day, nibbling at heads of millet which have been quickly roasted in hot embers. But as soon as the head of the unit of food economy has carried out the thanksgiving sacrifices which permit him, too, to eat of the new crop, he takes control.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Nevertheless, although a shortage of cultivated foods does not necessarily mean starvation, it lowers resistance to disease and saps the energy of the people at the end of the dry season when they need strength to prepare their farms; thus setting up a "vicious circle". It is not the shortage of food in itself which is so arresting, however, as the apathy of the people to the shortage. Ancestor worship causes them to dwell in the past and to think insufficiently of the present and the future. This, too, is probably symptomatic of the unsettled conditions when only the past was certain. It will take some time for the people, the older people who control affairs especially, to adjust themselves to the swift developments going on around them. An unfortunate result is that during the period of adjustment, many of the young men are attracted away from the district to work for wages in Ashanti and the Colony, where there is a big demand for unskilled labour in the mines and in handling the cocoa crop. These young men do not as a rule stay away from home for long at a time, and usually return with a little money; but they do not take readily to farming again, and represent a floating population which is the source of considerable concern to their elders.

Economic Awakening.

An adequate food supply alone does not appear to be sufficient incentive for the adoption of better farming methods; and it is unlikely that changes will come until farming ceases to be regarded mainly as a custom, and becomes a business. There are many signs of an economic awakening, fostered by such factors as a growing desire of the people for imported commodities, and an increase in money consciousness; the completion of an all-weather road to the South; the opening of a gold mine at Nangodi; the developing trade in all classes of livestock with Ashanti and the Colony; the new trade in groundnuts from Bawku for the Kumasi market; together with the work of Government Departments in the improvement of human health, the health of livestock, and not least, the scope of the recently introduced Native Administrations. These are some of the factors helping to bring about a change which can be met only by better farming. Government must anticipate agricultural expansion to be in a position to control its development.

The first problem, obviously, is to ensure a sufficiency of food for everyone in every year. Then, when local requirements have been satisfied, it must be shown how a surplus can be disposed of profitably, to satisfy growing demands. Upon this the Department of Agriculture is working in North Mamprusi, and the results of the last four years' work form the basis of this bulletin.